I: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

The Great Nomad City of the Ruala. Seven Thousand Tents Assembled together with Three Hundred and Fifty Thousand Camels

opposite page 49

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

721 circled about us with rifles ready for action. Then they got out of their cars and advanced towards us, with their rifles cocked.

As they approached, they yelled out that we were spies who had come to reconnoitre their land and camps. One of them recognized the wounded Duleym and began to question him, but the man remained silent, except to say that he would speak only before the *sheykh*. I overheard a few words which clearly showed that we stood in danger of immediate death. I thought it wise at least to warn their Akid.

"We are in Syria. Not only Ibn Meheyd, but also the Fransawi (French) will hold thee answerable for our safety!"

"Then prove thy friendly intentions," he answered.

I proposed that we should accompany him and his men to their camp.

He accepted my proposal only after we had handed over our rifles; our pistols we were allowed to retain.

619 ●[361] Following our enemies, we drove in a northeasterly direction. After a few miles we met the first herdsmen and their flocks and herds, and half an hour later the great camp of the allied Fid'an, Saba and Amarat Bedouins came in sight—tent ranged by tent in vast array. All the while new families with pack-camels came in and took their places on the wide plain, while women and slaves hastened to raise the black tents.

769 [623] A young acquaintance of Berjas ibn Hedeyb rode up to us and recognized me. He accompanied us to the large council tent of the assembled *shiyukhs*, and on the way related that a few days earlier some Fid'an had

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

do not permit them to go into the interior of the desert, *mâ ješarrežûn*. They are limited to the territory where there is abundance of water and where annuals grow every year. They encamp on the edge of the desert and are therefore known as *ruḥm aḍ-ḍire*, relatives of the (people of the) settled country; they do not undertake extensive raids, *ġazw*, and they acknowledge the supremacy of various Bedouins, to whom they pay a tax for protection, *ḫâwa*. The Bedouins are Arabs who breed camels exclusively, or at least in the main, and for ten months dwell in the interior of the desert, *ješarrežûn*. At the end of June they go to the edge of the desert, *jeġarrebûn*, dwell among the settlers until the middle of August or the beginning of September, provide themselves with grain, clothing, and weapons, and then return to the desert again.

On the edge of the desert a constant increase or decrease of the population can be observed. If the government guarantees complete security of life and property to the inhabitants of the towns and villages, the herdsmen of goats and sheep are transformed into active farmers; on all sides they build cottages, hamlets come into existence, and the *ra'ᶜw* and *šwâja* become peaceful settlers. They entrust their goats and sheep to the care of various clans of Bedouins, who do not go back to the open desert but remain on the border between villages and settlements and are themselves transformed into *šwâja*. If there is no strong government in the populated regions, security of life and property disappears and there follows a decrease of population. The permanent house is exchanged for the moveable tent; the farmers become *šwâja*. The former settlers, however, never become real Bedouins, because the actual Bedouins will never acknowledge them as equals. The term Bedouin is, hence, much narrower than the term Arab. In the view of the Rwala not all inhabitants of the Arabian peninsula are actually Arabs. Only those are Arabs who dwell in movable tents. Not all the Arabs, however, are Bedouins, but only those who spend the greater part of the year in the interior of the desert and who breed mostly camels. The Rwala are recognized by all tribes as being true and pure Bedouins. They are *baᶜîdîn aẓ-ẓaᶜna wâsiᶜîn aṭ-ṭaᶜana*, they have very extensive territories and drive their enemies far away from their camps. They are *ahl as-snân w-al-eᶜnân*, warriors on horseback, for they are able both to wield the spear and to manage horses.

[1] [The šwâja -- Analyst]

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

kinsfolk. The remainder assemble together likewise according to kinship. The camping place is called *manzel*. The chief leaves the camping place last, rides ahead of all the others, and is the first in the new camping place. The herds are brought

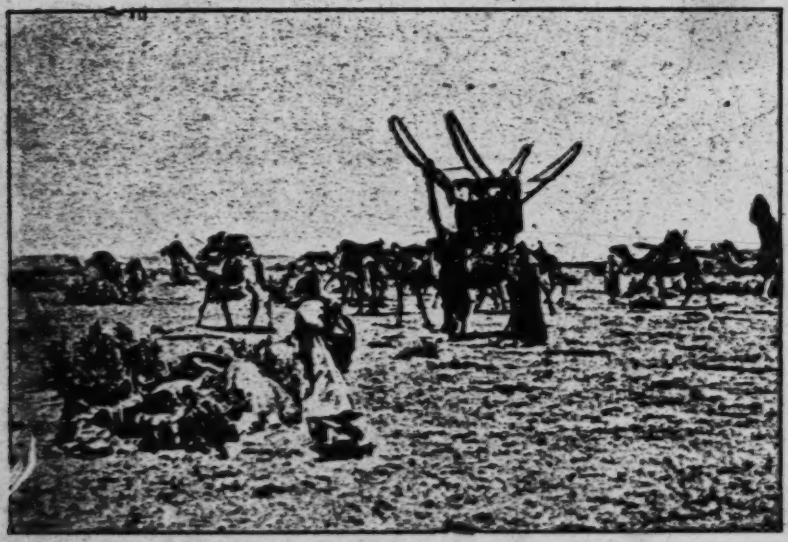

Fig. 18—*Ṣetab* litters.

to a standstill, and the herdsmen are told to let the camels have their evening pasture, *ma'aššow*.

The Rwala do not pitch camps in the shape of an ellipse as do some other tribes. Each one may pitch his tent where he likes, for his tribe is strong and can withstand any enemy. A camp with less than ten tents is called *feriž*, one with more than ten but less than thirty tents, *neǧe'*, and one with more than thirty, *nezel*.

Before changing camps the chief sends out one or two men, usually of the Ṣlejb tribe, to inspect the pastures and watering places in the region where he would like to encamp. The phrase is: "He has sent some one of his men to inspect the region, *kallaṭ leh ḳallâṭen min rilmeh*."

If there is an abundance of rain, the Rwala are fond of encamping in definite areas during the various seasons. The best winter pastures, *maṭṭa* (pl., *maṭâṭi*), are found in the environs of al-Ḥôr, of the Hebra 'Anka, as well as of Ṭâha. If

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Rowb, also known as *leben râjeb*, is sour goat's or sheep's milk. 5. Esrija, the ruins of a town north-northwest of Palmyra, is one of the main camping grounds of the 'Ebede division of the Sba'a. Ḥoms and Ḥama lie west of Esrija.

831* 539* [361]

1. *Jâ râčeb min 'endana tisa' mâjât*
   w-tisa'în w-elfen tizâdi
2. *mrabba'ât ḳejẓahen misterîḥât*
   w-en saneden limrêṭbe w-aṭ-ṭanâdi
3. *jilfen abu sbejjel 'adîm al-me'eğzât*
   jeḳẓi ṛaradna min ğamî' al-bwâdi
4. *bâṛi jidûr ṣwejḥebi bel-mhâfât*
   jidawwer al-bedw hamm jidawwer al-blâdi
5. *ḳil jâ bint ana min 'oḳbîkom šu'et lô'ât*
   ḥâli naḥat jâ bint w-al-hamm zâdi
6. *al-ḥalḳ tebât al-lejl bel-'own mâ-bât*
   w-al-'ajn 'an nowm al-mela mâ twâdi
7. *mâ-lûm ana râ' al-hawa kiṭr mâ fât*
   w-iblîs ma' râ' al-hawa biğithâdi
8. *en mâ laḳejteh ḥajj telḳâh žid mât*
   ḥaffet 'alejh al-ḳabr w-ermel hwâdi.

1. O thou who ridest from us, leading nine hundred
   And ninety and still another thousand [camels],
2. Almost square with fatness, rested during the midsummer;
   When they go up to the wells of Mrêṭbe and aṭ-Ṭanâdi
3. They will reach Abu Sbejjel, who knows no fatigue
   And who will do all that we need among the Bedouins.
4. I desire him to search for my sweetheart, no matter where she may be;
   Let him search among the Bedouins and in the settlements, then.
5. Speak thus: "O daughter mine, I have suffered without you heart's torments;
   My content is gone, and the torment grows.
6. At night all creation sleeps, but verily, I do not.
   For the eye will not catch the sleep of riffraff."
7. I reproach not my beloved with what is already past,
   As Iblîs is wont to tease every beloved one.
8. If thou shouldst find her not alive, if thou shouldst find her dead already,
   Make lighter her grave and strew with sand the three stones on which she used to place her kettle.

2;Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

mad and Ğwâd, who claimed that *jerješ* means brows, whereas Ḥmâr said "*jâ riš al-ʿajn*," which, of course, means the same thing. An *eğra* is a small village or hamlet with huts built of mud bricks. *Taṣfiḥ* or *taḥrîf* signifies any act performed for money or simply as a display. 2. *Ḥabîna* stands for the activity of the participators in small predatory excursions or of the scouts sent to find out by whom certain herds are owned and the whereabouts and size of the enemy's camps. They often have to crawl on their bellies so as to escape notice and avoid bringing destruction upon themselves and their comrades. 3. *Ḫwaʿ* is the call to supper during a raid. Fejṣal enumerates his deeds among the Bedouins. 5. *Habbt ar-rîḥ* is a favorable wind, a good opportunity for success, booty. The partakers in a raid shout when mounting their animals: "*Habbî lana jâ rîḥâna*, blow us, O breeze [to our success]!" 7. *Senîna* is a sharp saber.

831[x] 539[x] [361] [579]

Difficulties Due to Kinsmen

Jâ ḥamâd jâ-l-ḥnejdi O Ḥamad al-Ḥnejdi!
žetalni ḥawâk Love for thee has been the ruin of me;
w-an-nâs braǧaʿ-llâh While others put their hope in Allâh,
w-ana birağâk. I put my hope in thee.

Enḥazem jâ selîm It were well for thee to flee;
lâ tabet al-ḫalaʿ Do not pass the night behind the camp!
ṣâḥebi min žedîm My friend has long ago
sammani bel-ṛalaʿ. Poisoned me with love.

The maiden warns her lover against the meetings at night behind the camp. *Ḫalaʿ* means everything behind the camp. *Ṛalaʿ* is the passion of love.

Jâ šowḳ mâ taʿṭi-l-mabṛi
ḳalb al-maḫâlîž jadrîni
jâ bint ana ḫâreben ṭabʿi
lijje ʿala-l-bîz ʿorbûni
jâ bint ana-ḫâf min rabʿi
w-al-kill jabṛîč miṉ dûni.

Sweetheart, wilt thou not give me what I most desire
Before the creatures discover me?
O maiden! I am ruining my character,

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

The maiden longs for a word from her lover, who has gone with some traders in camels to Egypt, and urges the messenger carrying letters or the chief to hurry.

Zâ'û min al-ejd w-mežfini
w-mnaššerîn ad-dallâli
'allemi bihon bel-maḳâṭini
w-mrakkezîn al-maḳâmi.

After the holiday they departed, but in the opposite [direction,
Their best clothes donning. [to stay
Let me hear of their news, that they have encamped
And have erected a water hoist.

The maiden learns where her lover's kin have encamped. *Al-'ejd* is the holiday of *aẓ-ẓaḥijje*, when a she-camel is sacrificed by the Bedouins to every member of their kin who has died in the past year. *Mežfin* means that they have not followed the other Arabs in their forward movement but have taken the opposite direction. They encamped by a watering place and for a long period, hence *maḳâṭini*. The word *meḳṭân* designates a place where the Bedouins make a prolonged stay in summer time; thus *ḳaṭana 'ala-l-ḳâra* means "we camped a long time in al-Ḳâra." *Maḳâm* is the wooden apparatus for raising water, fastened above the edge of a deep well (see my *Arabia Deserta*, Fig. 35, p. 111). Such an apparatus is arranged only when the Arabs intend to stay at that particular well for some time. On that occasion they take out their best clothes and the women dress in their finest, *munaššerîn ad-dallâl*.

Ed'û râ'i-š-šowše
an-nûri mâ ajla' howšeh
jâ mušarreden 'ar-radi bowšeh
jâ howš at-turk jâ howšeh.

Wish long life to him with the short hair,
To an-Nûri — Oh, how graceful is he in the fight,
He who frees the herds captured by a wretch!
Ah, the fight with the Turks, ah, his fight with them!

Ed'û for jâ ṭawîl al-'omr. When going to battle every rider bares his head. The kerchief rests on his shoulders; the weight of the head rope hanging round the neck holds it to the body. *Šowše* means short, unbraided hair on the

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

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857

mâ zâl nawwâf 'ala-l-ḥejl
w-al-mâl killen jahâbeh
jista'hel al-wared w-al-hejl
w-an-naḏel jaḳmaḥ šebâbeh.

O my Lord! O creator of the night!
Let us have rain from thy clouds,
Nawwâf goes out on raids constantly
And all the property of the enemy fears him.
Of both rose and cardamom he is worthy,
And the overcautious only hold back his youthful courage.

Al-wared means the fragrance of roses as well as the rose itself and the love of women. *Hejl*, cardamom, is added to coffee, which thus prepared is to be served to none but heroes. *Naḏel*, cowards, vile ones, signifies here the older, more cautious chiefs, who with Prince an-Nûri at their head would not allow Nawwâf and his youths incessantly to raid even hostile tribes. They feared revenge.

Jâ rabbi jâ m'awwel
t'awwel 'ala-helna
nabni bujût al-'ezz
nanzel manâzelna
narḥal 'an had-dire
w-'an wasṭha ǵilna
jislam abu nawwâf
jarḥal w-jenazzelna.

O my Lord! O thou who returnest!
Lead us back to our kin,
Where we may pitch our tents as is seemly
And encamp on our own grounds.
We shall move away from this region
Forever to disappear from its midst.
Hail to the father of Nawwâf!
Would that he may move and allot to us new camps.

221 361 If the pastures in the territories owned by them do not suffice for their needs, while the territories in dispute abound in plenty, *rabî'*, the Rwala march as a rule to some of their tributary settlements in the inner desert, unload their supplies, litters, and large tents, usually leave the women, children and aged persons there, and move with their herds to the disputed

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

territory for at least one month of grazing. There they live in small tents, many even in the open; they cook their own meals or let one woman or a female slave do the cooking for several tents, and they always camp in the midst of their herds, ready for defense by day or night. The women and girls who have accompanied them soon tire of this mode of life, as is expressed in our song.

Bujût al-'ezz are the complete tents required by the social standing of the kin owning them. *Ĝâlow* means "they disappeared from this territory"; *enĝâl al-ṛejm*, "the fog vanished, dissolved."

Jâ rabbi jâ mâli
'aṭni faṛa bâli
fowḳ awṛaḥen 'âli
ma' waseṭ ḥijjâni
w-ĝowzen 'ala bâli
wa-zmejjem ḥamrâni.

O Lord! O my all!
Give me a clear mind,
(Grant) that I may ride a tall white camel
In the midst of my kin.
A husband give me to my taste
And a nose ring of gold.

Faṛa bâli is a clear mind, a good conscience, a free spirit oppressed by nothing. It is the wish of every girl or woman to ride on the march in a fancy litter on a pure white camel. Animals of this hue are the pride of both the tribe and the family, the red ornaments hung about them being especially conspicuous. In the midst of her kinsfolk the girl is absolutely safe. The nose ring is now worn by only a few Rwala women.

Jâ râčeben humejla'
râ'ih má jûmi 'aṛâḥ
jâ min ḏakar ṣwejḥebi
jâ dâjereḥ jâ min laḳâḥ
ar'eḥ ma' ḏwejden 'azib
wa-mzerfelen jamm al-fela'
wa' lâ laḳejt illa-l-ḥala
w-aḏ-ḏîb ĝellâni 'awḍḥ.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

539 x
577 x

7. *tarûrow al-merkûb miṯl aḍ-ḍijâbe*
wa-ṯkâbalow miṯl al-ḥarâr al-mefâlîḥ
8. *w-ḳâmat ǧenûb al-bel tsallel ḥarâbeh*
w-ḳâlow ǧanabha 'âšeṯîn aṭ-ṭamâmiḥ
9. *čam wâḥeden bel-kown je'per ṣuwâbeh*
min čaff kowḥân al-'ajûn aḍ-ḍuwâbiḥ.

1. O Allâh! I beg of thee, who art quick of hearing,
To open for us with thy keys the gate of freedom;
2. It is the prayer of a servant to his master who will hear him,
O thou creator of wealth for those who live in tents as well as in houses!
3. Sleep is the cause of reproof, for it reflects evil,
While the sleep of an eye that longs for power is but short.
4. He that would have praise must tire his riding camels,
For the booty depends on the long pace, O ye owners of fine camels!
5. With his heels he tears the skin of the riding animals,
Which must run over the wide plain, if they would arrive in the evening.
6. All he carries is a water bag, food for the journey,
And long fancy ribbons, streaming after him like the cloth with which the falcon is coaxed.
7. In full gallop with his comrades he rode up a high hill like a pack of wolves,
And they threw themselves upon the foe like well-born warriors meeting success.
8. But the camel guards resisted, brandishing their spears,
So that they said: "They are protected by the gallants of women displeased with their husband."
9. How many are pressing their hands to their wounds
Dealt by the hand of him who (when aiming) half closes his death-dealing eyes!

The author of this poem was an unknown Šarâri; it was recited to me by Ṭrâd eben Saṭṭâm.

Verse 1. *Bâb al-faraǧ* is a gate leading to spacious regions where the Bedouin is not threatened with danger. 2. *Al-'arab* live in tents, *al-falâḥ* in houses. Whenever the *felláḥîn*, or townsmen of some of the border settlements, leave for their herds and settle in tents, they are at once spoken of as *'arab*. 3. *An-*

[361 342]